

INTELLECTUALS *in* SOCIALIST SOCIETY

THE INTELLECTUAL
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(Collected Articles)

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M O S C O W

THE INTELLECTUAL IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

■ During the past fifty years socialism has shown that it can organize on a scientific basis the work of millions of people and unite the working classes for a common cause. By its very nature a socialist society strengthens the bonds between the working class, the peasantry and those with a professional training. Under the guidance of the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—the professionals are making an invaluable contribution to building socialism and communism.

All those who fill the ranks of the professionals spring from the people. In Soviet times, the Communist Party and Government have provided professional training for many millions of people and have secured for them conditions favouring their creative work and further development.

Communist construction is an integral part of their work. At this time when the material and technical basis of communism is being laid, social relations are being perfected and a many-sided process of moulding the new man is taking place, Soviet intellectuals are giving off their knowledge and abilities to carry out the decisions of the Party. The magnitude of the

tasks demands that constant attention be paid to the ideological and political education of all the people, the intellectuals included. The need for perfection in this work is dictated by the complexity of the international situation and the stepped-up ideological attacks upon the socialist states.

The April (1968) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in its resolution stressed that in these conditions, relentless struggle against hostile ideology, resolute exposure of imperialist intrigues, the fostering and strengthening of communist convictions and ideological steadfastness of all working people assume especial importance.

I

■ In capitalist society the professionals are part of the hired work force and, like the working class, are exploited. Their ability is put to the service of capitalist interests. Under these conditions "freedom to work creatively" is but a fiction. Mainly for this reason, increasing numbers of professionals as well as of other strata of the working people take part in the struggle against the monopolies.

At the same time the living conditions and the psychology of a section of the professionals are close to those of the petty bourgeoisie, and the interests of its privileged minority are firmly interwoven with those of the ruling circles. This produces a great diversity of political trends among them, a constant wavering between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, bet-

ween the forces of revolution and those of reaction.

These days when the contradictions of imperialism are aggravated to the extreme and its ideology is seen to be unsound, open individualism, decadent trends and pessimism are widespread among bourgeois intellectuals. The following admission by an American philosopher, E. Breisach, speaks for itself:

"The mood of crisis has come as an unwanted but permanent guest. And there is no escape. Wherever we turn, somebody hurls the word crisis at us, whether it be in newspapers, in books, in sermons or in discussions."¹

Different reactionary philosophical trends like neo-positivism, neo-Thomism and other "isms" which tend to divert man from the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society express the spiritual poverty and emptiness of capitalist society. The bourgeoisie encourages these trends as a means of muffling the truthful voice of those advocating social progress. But should intellectuals infringe upon monopoly class interests, every means to compel them to conform are used immediately. Among the numerous examples of this are the persecution of progressives in the USA, trials of cultural workers who oppose the American aggression in Vietnam, the use of terror against those fighting for the Negroes' civil rights, the suppression of intellectual and political freedoms in the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

¹ E. Breisach. *Introduction to Modern Existentialism*. N.Y. 1962, p. 3.

So far only a section of the intellectuals in the capitalist countries can see that the plight they find themselves in is caused by the dictatorship of the exploiting classes (no hypocritical words about "freedom" can screen its true nature) or that problems which appear to be without solution under capitalism can be solved by superior organization of society—by socialism. Advanced, democratic sections among the intellectuals in capitalist countries are beginning to see that by throwing in their lot with working class, they can escape from their state of social vegetation.

A socialist revolution liberates not only the working class and farmers but also the brain-workers. Growing numbers of professional people in the Western countries are learning this truth as they note the genuinely free creative work being performed under socialism.

Lenin pointed out: "Without the guidance of experts in the various fields of knowledge, technology and experience, transition to socialism will be impossible. . ."¹

Socialism gives the intellectuals a sense of social usefulness, an opportunity to apply their minds and talents in all fields of endeavour and to feel the satisfaction resulting from doing creative work. Socialism gives all working people, including the intellectuals, confidence in the future, a knowledge that their efforts will be respected and understood, a guarantee of genuine freedom to work creatively on problems concerning the revolutionary transformation of the world.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 248.

In their policy towards the intellectuals the Communists had to overcome certain difficulties. Our Party had, on the one hand, to oppose the indiscriminate identification of all intellectuals with the exploiting elements, and, on the other hand, to overcome both the educated specialists' distrust of the new system and the supercilious and slighting attitude some of them adopted towards manual workers.

Under the guidance of the CPSU the majority of the older intellectuals learnt to cooperate with the other sections of the working people, became as one with the working class and the peasantry in respect to their relation towards the means of production, and became enthusiastic over the socialist ideals and the far-reaching plans for building a new society. The problem was further solved by creating a new people's intelligentsia of workers and peasants brought up in socialist conditions who had acquired a dialectical-materialistic world outlook. The correctness of this approach has also been confirmed by the activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the fraternal socialist countries.

The reverse of this principled Leninist policy is being adopted in China with the large-scale persecution of intellectuals, party and state workers. In carrying out their "cultural revolution" the Peking leaders actually launched a campaign against genuine culture, substituting for all the ideological and spiritual riches of the Chinese people and other nations, including the highest achievement of human thought—the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism—quota-

tions from Mao Tse-tung' handbook. In this country with its inheritance of extreme backwardness, has been organized the systematic persecution of skilled workers and intellectuals, the beating up and intimidation of scientific workers and teachers.

Such a policy is the more dangerous as, contrary to the pseudo-revolutionary assertions of Mao's adherents, it results in falling economic growth rates, and this at a time of scientific and technological revolution, when socialism's superiority over capitalism must be proved not only politically and ideologically, but also in the economic, scientific and technological spheres.

Another problem which manifests itself during socialist construction is that of the growing demand for qualified specialists, which is sometimes interpreted as a sign of the "exceptionalness" of the highly educated, and of the need to raise them above the people. In some socialist countries there are "intellectuals" who, having picked up "theories" directed against socialism, the working class and its communist vanguard, that circulate in the West, try to assert that only the intellectuals, because of their "special" qualities, can solve vital problems of social development. Such statements are used by the imperialist forces to sow distrust and bring about discord between manual workers and professional people.

Experience shows convincingly that not only does the leading role of the working class under socialism not belittle that of intellectuals but, rather, it promotes a more purposeful application of their strengths and abilities in the inte-

rests of social progress. This has been strikingly demonstrated by the world's first socialist country—the Soviet Union. During the years of Soviet power great numbers of professionals have been trained. Their numbers having increased some 10 times since 1926. Under the guidance of the working class and its Party, they have taken an active part in building socialism, in executing Lenin's plan of cultural revolution and are now making a worthwhile contribution to the development of the economy, science and technology, education and culture.

Soviet intellectuals have become steeled in joint work and joint struggle alongside the revolutionary working class; they constitute a strong alloy of the best part of the old intelligensia and staunch workers and peasants who have received special education and practical experience. Peoples who before the Revolution had been subjected to tsarist oppression (some of them had no written language) now have their own trained professional workers.

The Soviet people are justly proud of the outstanding scientists, men of letters and masters of the other arts that they have produced from among their ranks. These people have done much to promote the scientific, social and moral progress of humanity and are the pride of Soviet and world science and culture.

As occurred during the years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union important changes are now taking place in the position of intellectuals in other socialist states. Their numbers are increasing, as is their devotion to communist ideals.

■ One of the most important features in the development of socialism is that concerned with the differences between manual and mental labour. This problem was stressed in the Programme of the CPSU and in the Resolutions of the 23rd Party Congress. Mental labour is playing an increasingly important part in the attainment of the ultimate goal of the working class—the building of a communist society. The task will be achieved by a further growth in numbers of professionally trained people and the raising of the cultural and technical standard of all working people.

The increase in numbers of trained personnel is a result and at the same time a sure sign of the rapid development of the productive forces under socialism. The number of Soviet professional engineers has increased six times since 1940 and 37 times since 1928, the USSR now having 2.3 times as many as the USA.

Intensive agriculture calls for greater employment of agronomists, animal husbandry specialists and engineers on collective and state farms. The number of collective-farm specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education per thousand of the collective-farm labour force has increased 13 times since 1940.

Improved production equipment demands higher qualifications for engineers. Also needed is their active participation in solving national economic problems and their every effort to improve labour organization and increase its productivity.

The introduction of new methods of planning and economic stimulation of production imposes a great responsibility on technical specialists. They must have a complete mastery of cost accounting and how to apply the law of planned, proportional economic development and commodity values in order to improve efficiency. In modern times engineers and technicians must not only thoroughly know the foundations of technology but also some knowledge of economics, psychology, industrial art, etc.

The number of scientific workers among socialist intellectuals has increased many times in answer to present-day requirements.

Soviet scientists, having made advances of world-wide significance in the most important fields of knowledge, are now concentrating on developing promising trends and branches of science, on raising the practical value of research in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and on the speedy application of research in production. Society demands more efficiency from many collectives of scientists and results justifying the material outlays and constant attention given by the Party and people to scientific development.

In its daily practical activity the CPSU is supported by highly qualified Marxist scholars of social science. The making of further strides by Soviet society towards communism is largely dependent on courageous and fruitful research into new problems of social development.

It is difficult to imagine the vital activity of Soviet society without the selfless labour of teachers, medical and cultural workers. The normal functioning of the social system is lar-

gely determined by the attitude to their duty displayed by workers in government and social organizations.

Under socialism all the professions are highly regarded. Wittingly or unwittingly giving preference to one profession at the expense of another could bring losses to the state. For example, it would be wrong to neglect the fine arts in favour of the pure sciences since the latter cannot provide the key to all social problems.

A humanitarian education for the technical specialist and, in particular, the moulding of his world outlook shapes him as a personality and a citizen.

3

■ The process of eliminating the essential distinctions between mental and manual labour while building a communist society will bring about the disappearance of the intellectuals as a distinctive social stratum, a prospect which does not frighten but rather gladdens them. It means not their degeneration or destruction but the success of their activity, namely a great spreading of culture and overall democratization when work by brain will become accessible to all members of the society.

Following the example of the working class which does not strive to perpetuate its class guidance but aims at overcoming the differences between classes, socialist intellectuals do not seek to keep in their own hands all creative activity but, on the contrary, do all they can

to make cultural wealth accessible to the widest sections of the society.

Would-be detractors at the Soviet Union try to represent Soviet intellectuals as an "elite," a "chosen caste" who deny ordinary people entry into their circle. However socialist reality completely refutes these falsehoods as examination of the staff at a typical enterprise shows. Of the 1,263 engineers and technicians interrogated at the Pervouralski Novotrubny Mill 42 per cent were children of workers, 32 per cent—children of peasants and 26 per cent came from families of office employees. This shows that the origin of our professional and highly skilled people fairly accurately reflects the distinguishing features of the social structure of Soviet society.

The economic interests of these people do not differ from those of the whole people. They are distinguished from other social strata only by their role in the social division of labour, that is by their qualifications and education and the functions they fulfil.

In the USSR in contrast to the capitalist countries, there is no "problem of the intellectual." But it is not correct to say that all questions around the education of Soviet intellectuals have been solved and that they no longer need the guiding influence of the working class and its Party. In modern conditions when every working person must have a high sense of responsibility towards society, the moulding of political awareness among those working by brain must not be left to itself. It is necessary for their professional training to be organically combined with the ability to orient themselves

correctly in their society. It still happens that some intellectuals yield to moods of individualism, political apathy and alien ideological influences. Some persons engaged in creative work try, under the pretence of opposing bureaucracy, to deny the importance of the Party's ideological influence in creative activity. It stands to reason that a Party leader working in a collective engaged in creative work, just as in other collectives, wins prestige if he combines political education with a competent analysis of any problem being tackled.

At the same time it is the duty of all Party organizations, as stated in the Resolution of the April (1968) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, "to carry out a strenuous fight against bourgeois ideology, actively oppose any attempts to bring into literary works, works of art and other works views alien to the socialist ideology of Soviet society".

Creative work is impossible without searching for and trying numerous forms and variants of solutions for problems, artistic styles, and so on. The Party protects the right of the intellectual to carry out such creative quests, at the same time upholding the Leninist principles and national character of literature and art so that the results of creative activity will assist in having principles of communism adopted.

Renegades whose "quests" take them in the direction of anti-communism have always met and will always meet the severe censure of the Party, the people and the intellectuals themselves. Such is the inexorable logic of ideological struggle.

In deciding their ideological and political

positions, intellectuals in all countries try first to comprehend the two ways of social development—capitalist and socialist—and then decide which to support. Any attempt to stand aloof imagining oneself to be a humanist above classes cannot succeed. No ideal can be achieved outside the real systems of social relations. Only people who have lost political orientation are able to advocate abstract “freedom” and democracy “in general” without obligation to strengthen the socialist system. Genuine democracy demands persistent work for the peoples’ good.

The capitalist press tries to make capital of the erroneous views of certain unstable elements. An apologist for US imperialism D. Billington recently claimed that Soviet intellectuals pin their hopes on America and love it as “the land of liberty.” But everybody knows that American imperialism suppresses liberty as a global policeman.

It is not fortuitous that bourgeois propaganda uses, month after month, the names of persons whose only contribution to culture consists in slandering their socialist homeland. At the same time the enemies of socialism deliberately pervert everything that fittingly represents the intellectual values of the new society.

Anti-communist propaganda goes all out to discredit the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the sphere of mental labour. But however much their ideological adversaries slander the Communists they cannot deny that the Marxist-Leninist Parties are organizations of innovators, people who recognize the need to build a communist society.

Like the whole people Soviet intellectuals have boundless confidence in the CPSU, acknowledge its moral, political and scientific authority and fully support its domestic and foreign policies. Many Soviet intellectuals belong to the CPSU and the Young Communist League.

"...Everyone should know," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 19th Moscow City Party Conference, "that Soviet people working in cultural fields, like all intellectuals in our country have always been and will be with their people with Lenin's Party."

The Communist Party and the whole people highly value the work done by their professionally trained people, support their creative undertakings, quests and accomplishments in science and technology, literature and art, education, public health and culture.

Soviet professionals who are highly educated and have considerable organizational experience devote their inexhaustible energy to their country's service, to furthering its political, economic and defence might and moral strength.

The distinguishing features of those in the forefront of building communism are a communist world outlook, a high level of culture in their work and everyday life.

Pravda, March 30, 1968

SOVIET INTELLECTUALS— NUMBERS RAPIDLY INCREASING

■ A strong trend in present-day Soviet society is the continuous rapid growth in the total number of people engaged in non-manual work, which is giving them a higher proportion in the country's work force. Within this sector further change is taking place in the proportion of people with comparatively low qualifications (office and shop workers and other employees) and those with a higher or specialized secondary education. For seven years—from the end of 1958 to the end of 1965—the total number of highly trained specialists working in the national economy of the USSR increased from 7.5 to 12.1 million people (not counting servicemen), i.e. by 61 per cent. During this period the population increase was 11 per cent, about the same as the number entering employment.

The word "intellectual" is not intended to describe all those engaged in non-manual work but only those having, as a rule, a higher or specialized secondary education, including those who are on pension.

How the ranks of these people, some 50 per cent of the total number of non-manual work-

ers, are replenished is of great importance theoretically and politically.

The body of Soviet intellectuals is made up of people's intellectuals not only because it forms part of and serves the people but also because it consists almost entirely of working people and is replenished from the ranks of manual and office workers and peasants as well as by "self-reproduction", that is by keeping professions "in the family".

This situation does not exclude practical sociological investigation but demands, rather, that the process of replenishment of this body be studied thoroughly. These investigations should stress the specific nature of social mobility in a developed socialist society.

Under the influence of industrial, scientific, technological and cultural advances Soviet society is rapidly becoming more homogeneous. The drawing closer together of all classes and social groups (as well as the overcoming of social differences within the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and among non-manual workers) is achieved not only by the gradual elimination of distinctions between them but more still by means of massive social transfers, by changing from one class or strata to others. As the gap between material and cultural conditions of social groups narrows, social transfers are facilitated and their number increases. These in turn help narrow the gap between different classes and strata.

Specialists enjoy a number of advantages as far as reward for their services is concerned (the principle of distribution under socialism takes into account the quality of work done

and the worker's qualification), opportunities for promotion and the use of leisure time because education offers more means for enjoying cultural values, etc.

Many and thorough investigations are required to determine the role of different social groups within Soviet society, how the ranks of the intellectuals are filled and the dynamics of this process. Investigations have been made and will continue to be made by a number of scientific organizations, especially the Sociological Laboratory of the Urals University in Sverdlovsk. Some results of their investigations may be of interest to the reader.

Changes in the Social Composition of Students

■ Specialists form a very heterogeneous stratum. Some of them are so-called practical workers, that is people without special training who occupy posts as technicians, teachers, engineers, agronomists, live-stock experts, etc. These workers are not a permanent category and are only there because of a shortage of trained specialists. There are comparatively few young people among them, and those that are nearly always study after working hours to get the necessary special training. Another section of specialists is made up of people with specialized secondary education (technicians, medical nurses, teachers of primary classes, etc.). And, finally, about five million specialists

engaged in the national economy are graduates from universities or institutes.

Social mobility is best seen in the process of replenishing precisely this sector since specialists in the medium category do not differ much now in educational qualifications from skilled workers and often their pay is not as high as that of skilled workers (which is the source of considerable difficulty in filling the posts of foremen, technicians, etc.). Specialists with higher qualifications (and this opens up wide possibilities for promotion and social advancement) must have a tertiary education received as a full-time student at university or institute, part-time while employed in some job, or through a correspondence or evening institution. The last two ways are mainly taken by people who are already engaged in a particular trade including "practical workers" who, in the official statistics, fall under the heading of specialists. The attempt to make training while working the principal form of higher education had to be discarded as the result did not come up to expectations. Students receiving full-time training at higher educational establishments remain the main channel of replenishment of the ranks of professional workers.

The composition of students in pre-revolutionary Russia clearly illustrated the situation then existing in all bourgeois countries when higher education was more a well-guarded barrier against young people from the working classes getting into a higher social strata than a means of achieving this. Thus, in the 1914-15 academic year the social composition of students in five leading technical institutes of Russia

was as follows: children of noblemen and officials—24.5 per cent; children of honorary citizens and merchants—14 per cent; children of clergymen—2.8 per cent; children of the lower middle class—31.6 per cent; children of peasants (mostly kulaks) and Cossacks—22.1 per cent; others—3.6 per cent.

After the October Revolution a number of measures introduced by the Soviet Government aimed at preparing young workers and peasants for entrance to higher educational establishments (including the setting-up of workers' faculties) brought about a rapid change in the social composition of the students. The same purpose was served by the new rules for admission to higher schools, which gave preference to workers, working peasants and their children. The liquidation of the exploiting classes and the victory of socialism made it possible to abolish restrictions on admission to higher schools in respect of social origin and position. At present the ranks of Soviet trained non-manual workers including the most highly qualified part—specialists with higher education—are wholly replenished by working people—workers, peasants and employees, the proportion of descendants from working class families among new generations of intellectuals is constantly rising.

However one cannot but see that this process contains an inner contradiction whose final solution requires that the transition from socialist to communist equality be implemented.

The essence of this contradiction is as follows. Socialist society is interested in choosing applicants who will be of maximum use as qualified specialists. Competitive entrance exa-

minations, despite all the defects of this system, make possible on the whole the selection of candidates who are best prepared to master a particular speciality. But it is well known that the standard of preparedness of an entrant depends not only on his natural abilities but also on the material and cultural standard of the family in which he grew up, teaching standards in the secondary school he attended and other factors promoting the earlier development of his capacities and ability to do well at examinations. It follows that, everything else being equal, chances of getting into a higher school are better for applicants whose parents are well educated, for those from cities where teachers are better qualified.

The number of applicants who want to enter higher schools always exceeds several times the number of vacancies. It is in the interests of society that selection should go to those who, in a few years, can acquire the general and special knowledge required, have the ability to direct the work of others, and would be willing to work in the outlying regions of the country if required. Level of knowledge is, however, the over-riding factor though other factors are also considered (in particular, young people from the countryside are given preference in admission to teachers training institutes). In considering the results of the competitive entrance examinations, the admission committees, watching over the interests of society, do not, as a rule, take into account the differences in opportunities for preparation enjoyed by the candidates and in a sense sanction actual inequality.

At the same time, however, socialist society wants to see the talents and abilities of all its young citizens developed speedily and well. The realization of real equality in this sphere urgently requires the equalization of material and cultural conditions of life of all families, raising teaching standards in village and settlement schools to those in big centres, the closure of the gap in living and cultural conditions in all types of settlements, the further development of transportation and communication facilities, etc., and, finally, such measures as the setting-up in big centres of special (mathematics, music, etc.) boarding schools for gifted children from outlying regions. In other words, accelerated progress of the productive forces and culture is necessary for the realization of this kind (as well as of other kinds) of equality. In order to achieve the acceleration of scientific-technical and cultural progress it is of paramount importance that the young people who are being admitted to higher schools will in a few years become the best of specialists.

Thus the road to full equality lies through inequality which still persists under socialism. This is so in all spheres of development of Soviet society from socialism to communism.

The contradiction just referred to was most evident in the middle 1950s when the number of boys and girls finishing ten-year schools considerably increased. It was reflected in the competitive examinations for entrance to institutes, particularly to the best in the country. At these examinations the most successful candidates were those from better-off families

who could provide for them to have special preparation. It is not surprising that children of professional people began to prevail numerically among students at the day departments of these institutes.

The 1958 Law on the School was, in particular, aimed at altering this situation. Preference in admission to higher schools was given to applicants with a production record. This brought about certain changes in the social composition of the students at higher schools. Young people with production experience began to prevail in the day departments. Since production experience was usually acquired at industrial enterprises, the percentage of workers among students began to increase. In this respect data obtained in the higher educational institutions of Sverdlovsk, the third largest student centre in the Russian Federation, are very typical.

In Sverdlovsk's biggest educational establishment—the Urals Polytechnical Institute—an average of 70 per cent of students admitted at this time to the day department had a production record, 40 per cent of the total number having been workers. At the same time the percentage of workers by origin also increased. Among applicants admitted to the first course in 1958, 34.2 per cent came from workers' families. By 1964 this had reached 49 per cent, that is their share had risen from one-third to half of the total number of students.

These two categories—workers by social position and workers by origin—partly coincide, but in the aggregate, at present, nearly two-

thirds of the students at the day department of this institute are workers or children of workers. The percentage is still higher in the Mining Institute where in 1965 workers by social position accounted for 62 per cent of those admitted to the first course at the day department. In educational institutions specializing in the humanities, the Medical Institute and the University the percentage is somewhat lower.

At present the percentage of children of non-manual workers in the higher educational establishments of Sverdlovsk is, as yet, somewhat higher than their proportion of the total population. Workers account for about 50 per cent of the Soviet population and collective farmers and non-manual workers—25 per cent each. In the Urals the percentage of workers is somewhat higher at the expense of collective farmers since the Urals is one of country's most industrialized regions. But of the total number of young people admitted in recent years to the higher schools of Sverdlovsk, children of non-manual workers account for 25-42 per cent depending on the year and the speciality chosen. This means that the percentage of workers' children entering higher schools is still somewhat lower than that of children of non-manual workers. And if we further divide the non-manual workers into professional and non-professional, the difference will prove to be still greater. Thus, in the first course at the day department of the Urals University 35 per cent of the students of the 1963 enrolment proved to be children of professionals, the percentage varying from

11 per cent at the economic faculty to 58 per cent at the physics faculty.

New rules regarding admission to higher schools, introduced in 1965,¹ brought about certain changes in the social composition of students at the day departments. The percentage of school leavers increased as well as the proportion of people whose families were not manual workers. However the change was slight: in the Urals University, for example, this percentage increased from 35 in 1953 to 38.5 in 1964.

The trend now is for the social composition of first-year students to draw nearer to the social structure of the population. This results from the closing of the gap between the material and cultural conditions of life which tends to equalize opportunities for preparation to enter the higher schools. A number of social measures provided by the five-year plan will also further this trend. Thus, along with the general rise in living standards, a more rapid increase in the incomes of the low- and medium-paid strata of the population is envisaged, as well as the introduction of nation-wide secondary education, to be implemented by 1970, which will tend to equalize the cultural level of the younger generation.

To speed up the process of bringing the

¹ Proportional distribution of student places between secondary school graduates and young people with production experience has been introduced, depending on the number of applications. This still gives certain preference to candidates with production experience as after the examinations the passing marks given to them prove to be lower.

social composition of students nearer to the population structure, special measures should be taken to "equalize opportunities" for entrants to higher schools, such as raising the teaching standards in village and settlement schools, extending the network of boarding schools (for the 9th and 10th forms) in district centres for country youngsters, etc. These measures would assist the process of discovering and developing children's abilities, ensure that the more capable young people get to the higher schools and would to a certain extent compensate for the present inequality among families.

Parents and Children: a Change in the Social Position

■ It has been shown that the percentage of young people from families of professionals in the total number of students is somewhat larger than that of professionals in the population. For a quantitative evaluation of the processes taking place in this sphere two investigation programmes were carried out in addition to the questioning of students.

In the first programme children's plans for the future and their realization were studied. The following are the results of questioning, carried out in 1965 in two districts of Sverdlovsk, of young people who had finished the 11th form.

Juveniles from workers' families accounted for 40 per cent of secondary school leavers, while in the 8th forms (whose composition fairly

Table 1

**Plans for the future made by secondary school
leavers in the Kirov and Ordzhonikidze districts,
Sverdlovsk (the summer of 1965)**

Social origin	Number of those ques- tioned		Plans (in %)			
			to continue studying		to go to work	no plans so far
	number	%	in technical colleges	in higher schools		
From workers' families	316	100	6	74	17	3
From families of non-manual workers	156	100	6	83	9	2
From families of professionals	271	100	4	91	2.5	2.5
Others ¹	70	100	6	77	16	1
Total	813	100	5	82	11	2

¹ Children of pensioners whose social position has not been established, orphans, children from mixed families, etc.

accurately reflects the structure of the population of the districts) they made up 60 per cent. This means that after finishing the 8th class more juveniles from workers' families went to technical colleges and vocational training schools or to work than those whose families were non-manual workers or professionals. Though all this makes for earlier independence, the possibility of the young people entering higher schools is not excluded, in fact

they gain some advantages. It should be noted that the difference in the plans for the future of school leavers from families of different social position is slight. On the average, 82 per cent of them planned to enter higher schools, the percentage of those from workers' families was 74 and from the families of professional people—91. Certainly, not all of them entered higher schools. In September, 1965, a survey was carried out to see what had come of the plans for the future of school leavers in the Ordzhonikidze district in Sverdlovsk. It was seen that 40 per cent had entered the day departments of higher schools, 10 per cent had gone to work but had enrolled in the evening departments of such schools, 30 per cent had gone to work and given up study, eight per cent had entered technical colleges and the remaining 12 per cent had been called up for military service or had left Sverdlovsk, etc. The proportion of those who reached the required standard for enrolment at higher schools was practically the same in all social groups.

In the second programme parents were questioned about their hopes for their children's future. The most reliable information was to be obtained from comparing the results of questioning workers, non-manual workers and professionals living in the same town and working at the same enterprise. In 1963, the Sociological Laboratory of the Urals University questioned workers, engineers and skilled technicians of over 40 years of age employed at the Sverdlovsk Plant of Medicinal Preparations. It appeared that 33 per cent of the children of workers at this plant had already be-

come or were becoming specialists (by training in technical colleges and higher schools); for the children of professional engineers and skilled technicians the percentage was 75. As a check on these figures, similar questioning (but among workers—men and women) was carried out in a number of departments of the Sverdlovsk Turbomotor Plant. It showed that out of 458 children of workers (16 years and over) 53 had not yet decided on their future and could not be taken into account (were still at school, serving in the Army). Of the remaining 405 children 83 had already graduated from technical colleges and higher schools and 61 were still studying. Thus 144 out of 405 (35.5 per cent) of workers' children at the plant had already or would enter the ranks of the professionals. These findings are not quite accurate because more of the young people will enter technical colleges and higher schools than will abandon all further study.

These surveys carried out at two enterprises revealed that more than one-third of workers' children in the cities are receiving training for one of the professions.

A similar investigation was conducted at Druzhinino, a workers' settlement near a railway terminal, 80 kilometres from Sverdlovsk. It showed that in workers' families 19 per cent of children over 16 years of age had already gained a profession or were studying in technical colleges or higher schools; in the families of non-manual workers and professionals the percentages were 34 and 79, respectively.

Whereas in Sverdlovsk every third child

from workers' families has entered a profession or is studying at a technical college or higher school, in Druzhinino - this applies to about every fifth child.

It follows that the process of replenishing the ranks of the professionally trained depends not only on the social position of the families but also on where they live. In this respect the difference between people belonging to one social group—workers' families—but living in different places—villages, workers' settlements and cities is much greater than that between people of different social groups.

Another angle of this question is of interest, namely, the reverse process, that of the children of professionals becoming workers. The results of a survey, we carried out in the same year in the town of Nizhni Tagil, revealed that here as many children from workers' families receive professional training as in Druzhinino (every fifth child), but as for children whose parents are professional people, they number three out of five; 40 per cent of young men and girls (two out of five) brought up in families of professionals (mainly skilled technicians) become workers.

The difference arises from the nature of a big industrial centre. In Nizhni Tagil the composition of the professional stratum differs from that found in a workers' settlement. The large numbers of big modern plants bring about a great demand for professional engineers and skilled technicians, and result in a working class with higher cultural and technical standards. The difference in qualifications, pay and social position between a high-

ly skilled worker with a complete secondary education and a professional with the same background or a skilled technician working in the same shop is slight. Moreover, a considerable and growing number of technicians are directly engaged in operating complex machine tools and units.

The drawing together of the working class and the engineering and other technical workers based on the development of technology is proceeding very intensively and creates the basis for the growth of social mobility in the "reverse" direction—from families of professionals to the working class. But so far such shifts do not, of course, occur as often as the change from working class to professional ranks.

How Much "Self-Reproduction" Is There?

■ The fact that a considerable number of the children of professionals enter the professions leads some foreign writers to assert that Soviet intellectuals are an "exclusive" stratum which "reproduces" itself. Let us see if there is any basis for such allegations.

At the beginning of this article it was stated that in recent years the number of people with higher or specialized secondary education employed in the national economy grew very fast (in seven years by about five million people). Such rapid growth naturally could not, for purely demographic reasons, occur through the

emergence of a "second generation" in the families of this stratum. Records show that the average annual increase of the Soviet population is around 1.5 per cent, and somewhat lower in the families of professional people. The main source of replenishment of the professionals is the families of workers, peasants and non-specialist employees. This is confirmed by a concrete sociological investigation carried out at two major enterprises in the Urals—the Sverdlovsk Turbomotor Plant and the Pervouralsk Novotrubny Plant.

The investigation showed that on an average 43 per cent of the engineers and technicians at these plants came from the working class, 28.6 per cent—from peasants' families and 28.4 per cent from the families of non-manual workers (specialist and non-specialist). The social origin of professional engineers, who are nearest to the working class, very accurately reflects the numerical relationship between the principal social groups of our society in the recent past.

More detailed data based on the division of employees into specialists and non-specialists were obtained as a result of an investigation carried out at the Sverdlovsk Turbomotor Plant. This division as well as the breaking down of engineers and technicians into age groups made it possible to examine the trend of replenishing their ranks from different social groups over the last three decades (Table 2.)

These data are very representative since more than 1,000 people were questioned. First it

Table 2

**Composition of Engineers and Technicians
of the Sverdlovsk Turbomotor Plant According
to Social Origin and Age Groups**

Age	Total number	Percentage from families of			
		workers	peasants	non- manual workers	profes- sionals
Over 50	102	55.2	27.4	14.5	2.9
41-50	198	48.5	31.5	16.0	4.0
31-40	377	40.4	32.3	21.5	5.8
30 and below	434	47.3	14.7	31.1	6.9
Total	1,111	44.4	25.6	24.3	5.7

should be noted that the percentage of engineers and technicians from families of professionals, that is of "intellectuals of the second generation" is very small, ranging from three per cent among the elderly to seven per cent among the young. This percentage reflects the increase in the proportion of highly educated people in the country. However at the present time people holding degrees account for about 12 per cent of all those gainfully employed so that the proportion of engineers and technicians from families of professionals is lower than that of professionally trained people in the total population. At first sight this result does not accord with the fact that a somewhat higher percentage of children from families of professional people than children of the other groups

enter higher schools. But it must be taken into consideration that owing to the rapid increase in the number of highly trained people, those prevail whose children have not yet reached the age at which young people enter technical colleges and higher schools. That is why the percentage of young professionals at the plant who come from families of professionals (seven per cent), though not in itself large, is still somewhat bigger than the percentage of professionals among the gainfully employed population of twenty years ago.

The qualifications of professionals vary very much. A similar survey was carried out at the Pervouralsk Novotrubny Plant, the data being further classified into engineers, technicians and "practical workers" (specialists without diplomas). The percentages of professionals from families of non-manual workers (professional and non-professional) proved to be: among engineers—48.4, among technicians—17.1 and among "practical workers"—12.6. It is interesting to note that while 38.2 per cent of engineers of over 50 years of age came from non-manual worker families, the corresponding percentages among engineers of 40 to 50 years of age is 41.3 and among engineers of 31 to 40 years—only 31.6.

Opponents of the Soviet system pay special attention to the selection of leading cadres in an effort to prove that leading posts in the USSR are becoming almost "hereditary."

No statistical data is available on this question on a scale embracing the whole country, a particular republic or region, since the selection of leading personnel requires special investigation. A sample survey was carried out in

Sverdlovsk in the spring of 1966 in the form of interrogation of one hundred leading executives of the Uralobuv Complex. Those questioned included the director and his assistants, the directors of the enterprises forming part of the complex and their assistants, shop and department managers and their assistants. The survey showed that more than a half of the leading personnel were not over 40 years of age. Their social origin was as follows: 49 came from workers' families, 41—from peasants' families and 10—from non-manual workers' families. Consequently, only 10 per cent of the leading personnel came from families whose heads had been engaged in non-manual work including comparatively less important work (junior book-keepers, etc.).

The data cited above, though not, of course, exhaustive, show that "self-reproduction" of the professional stratum in modern Soviet society does not play any significant role in the formation of new generations of professionals.

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CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

1

■ The social structure of the Soviet socialist society differs radically from the structure of capitalist society. Equally profound are the differences in their development trends. While, under capitalism the gulf between the small group of exploiters and the overwhelming majority of the people continues to grow, in socialist society, which has no exploiting classes and consists of the working class, collective-farm peasants and professional stratum, the distinctions between different strata of the working people are steadily being obliterated. Real life completely refutes slanderous assertions about an alleged process of "differentiation" of Soviet society. On the contrary, the transition from socialism to communism is characterized by the fact that, with the development of the economy and new social relations, Soviet society becomes more and more homogeneous.

The process of social consolidation of the socialist society is conditioned by its very nature. Marxism-Leninism has scientifically substantiated the objective law governing this process showing the necessity and inevitability of overcoming, in conditions of the new society, the contrast and the distinctions between town and

country, between mental and physical labour. Lenin emphasized that "... the organization of industry on the basis of modern, advanced technology, on electrification which will provide a link between town and country, will put an end to the division between town and country, will make it possible to raise the level of culture in the countryside and to overcome, even in the most remote corners of the land, backwardness, ignorance, poverty, disease and barbarism".¹ K. Marx pointed out that the higher phase of communism could be reached only "...after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of cooperative wealth flow more abundantly."²

The liquidation of the exploiting classes and the victory of socialism in the USSR lessened the contrasts between town and country, between mental and physical labour. The further development of society under socialism means gradual obliteration of the main differences between them, of all class and social distinctions expressing the unequal position of people in the system of relations of production and other social relations.

In recent years Soviet philosophers, sociolo-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 40, p. 109.

² K. Marx, F. Engels. *Sel. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 24.

gists and economists have done much to investigate the processes of rapprochement of social groups within the society. However it should be noted that in some works the problem is treated in an oversimplified way. On the one hand, some authors try to assert that between the working class and the peasantry as well as between these classes and the professionals there still exist the same contradictions as existed during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. On the other hand, attempts are made to deny the existence of essential distinctions between these social groups. The unsoundness of such assertions is evident. The present stage of development of socialist social relations is still characterized by the existence of distinctions between social groups. These distinctions may lead to certain non-antagonistic contradictions which are solved on the basis of the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society.

2

■ The elimination of distinctions between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry is primarily determined by the evolution of two forms of socialist property: the property of the whole people and collective-farm property. They are now very close to each other, since the indivisible funds of collective farms practically do not differ in character from the fixed assets of state farms and industrial enterprises.

Collective-farm property is gradually becoming the property of the whole people in condi-

tions of commodity-money relations in the socialist economy and the introduction of comprehensive cost accounting in the way Lenin understood it. The economic reform strengthens the economic independence of the state and collective farms thus creating favourable conditions for bringing them closer together and, consequently, for the rapprochement of the collective-farm peasantry and the working class of the countryside.

The nature of agricultural labour is also changing. More and more it is based on modern machinery thus becoming industrial. The measures set out by the CPSU Central Committee for raising farming standard will speed up the process of industrialization of farm work. This process will also be assisted by the establishment in collective farms of different trades based on local raw materials and the setting up of enterprises for the processing of agricultural raw materials as set out in the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on the Five-Year Plan. This will also bring the peasants in contact with industrial labour.

Of particularly great importance for the rapprochement of the two friendly classes in Soviet society is the general introduction of guaranteed monthly payment for collective farmers at the rates received by workers on state farms in the given zone and the extension to collective farmers of the right to receive the same pensions as fixed for workers and staff members. The implementation of these truly historic measures is an important step on the way to obliterating the distinctions between the working class in the countryside and the collec-

tive-farm peasantry as far as distribution is concerned.

The narrowing of the gap between living and working conditions of collective farmers and state farm workers is taking place against the background of a general process of gradual elimination of socio-economic, cultural and daily living conditions between town and country. Throughout the years 1966-70, important undertakings along these lines to be carried out. One of them has already been implemented, namely a reduction in retail prices in country areas on a number of commodities to the level of town prices. Great attention will be paid to housing construction, to the provision of amenities for and building of cultural institutions in collective-farm settlements as well as large-scale rural electrification. Along with radio, television is becoming more common in rural homes. The building of roads and the increase in the number of cars, including private cars, brings rural settlements nearer to towns, makes it possible for country folk to visit more frequently the theatres, concert halls, exhibitions, museums in the towns and at the same time allows for the extension of the scope of assistance given by urban institutions, including cultural establishments, to collective and state farms.

Children study for the same number of years in town and rural schools. But so far the teaching standard in many rural schools is lower than in town schools. This reveals itself during the entrance examinations for entry into technical schools and higher schools. The question of improving educational work in rural

schools is assuming still greater importance in connection with the general implementation of nation-wide secondary education.

Problems of such complexity cannot be solved in one five-year period. But in the period covered by the current—the eight—five-year plan much will be achieved in this sphere. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 23rd Congress pointed out: "It is an important fact that the new five-year plan envisages effective measures to bring the living standards of the rural and urban population still closer together and to raise the general standard of living in the Soviet Union. The implementation of these measures will mean that good work has been done to bring closer the time when the essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour disappear."

3

■ The social changes in the structure of Soviet society are also manifested in that physical and mental labour are drawing closer to each other, in other words, as far as the nature of labour is concerned, workers and collective farmers are coming closer to non-manual workers and professionals. The main thing in this process is the rising of workers and collective farmers to the level of technologists, economists, scientific and cultural workers. Non-manual workers (people in offices and the trading system) are, in their turn, gradually rising in respect of the nature of their work and educa-

tional background to the level of professionals engaged in production and management.

The drawing together of workers by brain and workers by hand under socialism is determined by two main conditions: the increase in the proportion of brain-work in the whole mass of social labour, including physical labour, brought about by the steadily growing concentration of modern technical equipment in production; and the spread of such types of labour which require a greater number of professionals, higher qualifications, a creative approach to labour processes and at the same time greater professional differentiation.

Scientific and technological progress demands higher standards of general and technical education. The cultural and technical level of the workers and peasants is being raised by educating the entire mass of working people and by speeding up the growth of general educational and specialized training of young workers.

Let us cite a few significant figures. While in 1939 there were 123 people with higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education per 1,000 people engaged in the national economy, by 1959 their number was 433 and by January 1, 1965—522. At the beginning of the seven-year-plan period the number of pupils in schools for working youth and young farm workers was 1.9 million, but at the end of the period it had reached 4.7 million.

At present the majority of young people starting out in life have an eight-year education. A comparatively insignificant part of juveniles do not complete eight classes, but a very considerable and rapidly growing number of young

boys and girls go to work after completing 10 classes at secondary school.

In the workshops of Uralmashzavod, at the Plastmass Plant and at other modern enterprises in Sverdlovsk about 30 per cent of the workers have completed 10 or 11 classes or have received specialized secondary education. This stratum of the workers are mastering modern technology, actively participating in scientific and technical creative work and in politics. These workers are the future of the whole of our working class. Similar processes are going on, though somewhat slower, in the countryside, where the number of collective farmers without special trades is steadily decreasing. On the other hand, there is a rapid increase in the number of machine operators, special farm workers and workers of other trades requiring a rather good general educational background and special training.

A great number of striking examples show us how workers, who are perfect masters of modern complex machinery and are constantly enlarging their knowledge, reach a level of development at which they cease to differ from engineers and technicians. Further improvements in production, the introduction of all-round mechanization and automation result in an increase in the number of such highly qualified workers and a decrease in the number of workers with low qualifications and a low general educational background. The steady rise in the general cultural and technical level of the working class and the obliteration of distinctions between classes are extending and speeding up the process of elimination of dif-

ferences between the professionals and the working class and of distinctions between classes and social groups in Soviet society.

In the coming five years universal secondary education will become the norm for young people. This is of great social importance since in respect of education the younger generation of workers and peasants will equal not only non-manual workers but also professionals of medium qualifications.

However one cannot fail to see the contradictions which up to now have appeared in connection with the rise in general educational level of young people. The professional training provided by the secondary school has been so low that only few school leavers could use the trade acquired at school when they went to work.

Secondly, the day departments of higher educational establishments cannot accept all who finish secondary school. Consequently, professional training of young people becomes increasingly important.

Technical labour instruction and practical work in general schools should not be abandoned, and at the same time the system of vocational schools should be extended. We believe that it would be worthwhile to try out the suggestion that a number of vocational schools, by way of experiment, give their pupils general education embracing the programme of the 9th and 10th classes.

The transition to a five-day working week envisaged by the five-year plan will also favourably affect the process of raising the skills of workers and peasants nearer to those of pro-

professionals. The two days off give those who are studying while working more time for their studies.

4

■ The two principal ways of removing social distinctions in Soviet society are materially supplemented by the processes of people going over from some social strata to other. The changing proportions in the social division of labour result in there being more workers and non-manual workers as well as in a very rapid, absolute and relative growth in the number of professionals. While in 1941 there were 2.4 million professionally trained workers employed in the national economy (including 0.9 million with higher education), that is about three per cent of the gainfully employed population, in 1965 the professionals numbered 12 million (including five million with higher education), that is more than 10 per cent of total number of gainfully employed people. Changes of this magnitude occurred in only a quarter of a century, at a time when the Soviet Union went through a war, the most severe in Russia's history, which inflicted tremendous human and material losses upon the country. During the current five-year-plan period about seven million people will receive professional training, which is 65 per cent more than during the preceding five years.

In modern conditions social transfers, the going over of working people and their children to other social groups, especially to professional rank, assume particular importance. This

process in one of the important ways of drawing together all social groups of Soviet society.

The Soviet professional stratum is formed and its ranks are replenished from the mass of the people. In recent years 50 per cent of the young people admitted to the day departments of the higher schools in Sverdlovsk came from workers' families. For comparison we would like to state that in France workers' children account for only five per cent of the total number of students.

Many Soviet families are a living embodiment of the growing social homogeneousness of Soviet society. Frequently workers by hand and by brain are members of one family.

In socialist conditions shifts from one social group to another—while these groups still exist—are an important means of their merging. The closer the living standards of town and country workers, collective farmers, and professionals, their education, leisure habits, social activities, etc., the easier it is to make these shifts.

The current five-year plan provides for a general rise in per capita incomes. To benefit most by this rise will be the low- and medium-paid groups of workers, collective farmers and non-manual workers. The same trend is also characteristic in education and culture. The progress of equalizing material and cultural conditions will undoubtedly bring about a still more intensive transfer of citizens from some strata of the society to other social categories and thereby to the further rapprochement of all social groups of Soviet society.

Voprosy Teorii i Zhizn, 1967, pp. 54-63

Интеллигенция в социалистическом обществе
на английском языке

Цена 11 коп.

